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ABSTRACT

The idea of content-based instruction (CBI) is at odds with the curricula of most English-as-a-Second-Language (ESL) teacher preparation programs. Nor does it fit easily with the skill-based texts and learning packages that are used widely in the field. There is also little agreement about the methods to be used to effect it at various levels of proficiency and across the range of academic settings from kindergarten to grade 16. Accordingly, attempting CBI in the context of an intensive English program that enrolls nearly a thousand academically sophisticated adult students every semester presupposes a massive effort to reorient instructors and reinvent curricula. This paper presents the results of such an experiment conducted over a 7-year period. The findings permit the development of an outline for reengineering the preparation of ESL professionals. Moreover, they suggest guidelines for altering methods used by traditional instructors so that CBI, intensive English language programs, ESL instructors, and a wide variety of students may all enjoy greater professional satisfaction and success. (Contains 24 footnotes, survey/questionnaire, and 2 tables.) (KFT)



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Abstract

The idea of Content-Based Instruction (CBI) is at odds with the curricula of most English as a Second Language (ESL) teacher-preparation programs. Nor does it fit easily with the skill-based texts and learning packages that are widely used in the field. There is also little agreement among its proponents about the meaning of CBI, and even less consensus about the methods to be used to effect it at various levels of proficiency and across the range of academic settings from Kindergarten to Grade 16.

Accordingly, attempting CBI in the context of an Intensive English Program that enrolls nearly 1000 academically sophisticated adult students every semester, presupposes a massive effort to reorient instructors and reinvent curricula. Deciding to include team-taught modules in such a program -- with the effect of charging pairs of instructors with leading student-centered workshops, and also requiring several of these paired teams to collaborate closely and share their plans in order to offer equivalent courses to parallel classes at five proficiency levels -- presents new and significant challenges to all participants. Adding to these factors the stipulation that the content of the instruction reflect the register and dialect variation of highly educated native-speakers across the university curriculum culminates in the creation of an extreme case.

This paper presents the results of just such an experiment, conducted over a seven-year period. The findings permit the development of an outline for reengineering the preparation of ESL professionals. Moreover, they suggest guidelines for altering the methods used by traditional instructors so that Content-Based Instruction, Intensive English Language Programs, ESL instructors, and a wide variety of students may all enjoy greater professional satisfaction and success.

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Reengineering the ESL Practitioner for Content-Based Instruction

Lilith M. Haynes Institute for English Language Programs Harvard University

1. Introduction

1. 1. Salvete - Salvos

These are the days of extreme sports, and English as a Second Language (ESL) practice all too often being conceived of -- and delivered -- as if it were a game, you might be forgiven for interpreting my come-hither blurb in the convention program:

"An extreme case -- of successfully providing student-centered, team-taught CBI in parallel and equivalent sections to over 800 adults in an academic a IEP at an élite university for seven summers -- offers guidelines for significantly altering ESL curricula, methods, and texts, and for reengineering ESL practitioners' preparation and professional development."

as an invitation to hear about 50 more or new strategies for teaching ESL². If that's why you're here, please feel free to go to one of the other thirteen sessions running at this time; I shall not be offended, at least not terribly so.

On the other hand, if you consider yourself a true member of the American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), you should probably also stage your walkout now, for this organization refused -- via its responsible officer -- to accept an ESL practitioner job-listing from my institution with the following statement:

"Yes, as an applied linguist I am certainly aware that language-teaching can be considered applied linguistics. However, if you look at the jobs we have posted on the AAAL joblist, you will see that the vast majority, if not all, are academic jobs requiring a Ph.D. We cannot begin accepting ESL teaching jobs as well since there are literally hundreds of these. Our website would be completely overwhelmed and could become of very little use to the academics for whom it was intended."

² This is very often the case, e.g. Herrell, Adrienne L. <u>Fifty Strategies for Teaching English Language</u>



¹ Page xxx

Learners, Merrill/Prentice Hall, New Jersey. 2000

³ Susan Gonzo. Cc. of E-mail response dated Thursday 14 September 2000, 15.07:43 to the following message: "Dear Susan, I spoke with the Director of our IEL program and she asked me to mention to you that ESL teaching is applied linguistics. She also would be glad to speak with you via phone or email if you have additional questions or comments. I am sending the job announcement (below). If you still do not wish to list it on your website please contact Lilith Haynes who is the director of the IEL program at the Division of Continuing Education at Harvard University. Her phone number is (617) 495-2947 and her email address is haynes@hudce.harvard.edu. Thank you. The announcement is listed below. Karen" Harvard University Institute for English Language Programs (IEL) Preceptorship: One full-time position,

I leave you who are still here to extract any logical or ethical dimensions you can detect in that representation of this association (and wonder that few take linguists, and even applied linguists, seriously when there are national debates on educational policy that involve language)!

In The Reengineering Revolution, Michael Hammer and Steven Stanton warn: "Each process should cross a number of organizational boundaries; a rule of thumb is that if it doesn't make at least three people mad, it's not a process." So far, so good! Let me, therefore, turn swiftly to you who hold neither of the above-mentioned extreme interpretations about ESL! I hasten to assure you that, not being masochistic, I have come here today not to anger you but to offer, as elegantly as I can, some explanatory adequacy about what ESL should and can be. And yet, I shall now ask for an important show of hands: who among you is in a position to reengineer the ESL practitioner for Content-Based Instruction (CBI)? Are you Heads of Departments or Deans or Provosts or Presidents? If you aren't, you are probably also in the wrong place, unless you have the ear of one -- or have been hired by one – who is committed to the radically altering process that I shall outline for ESL. But do stay; chances are, you'll get promoted – and, meanwhile, I shall have an audience! Who knows: we may even start a revolution of our own, reengineering ESL in the university—and downwards!

1. 2. Reengineering ESL in the university—and downwards

Hammer and Stanton wax linguistic when they explain: "The verb 'to reengineer' takes as its object a business process and nothing else. We reengineer how work is done,

beginning in September 2001. Appointment is for three years with the possibility of renewal for an additional three years. Applicant should be prepared to teach English as a second language to adult students at all levels of proficiency, from beginning to high advanced levels, including specialized courses in English for business and the professions. Duties include both academic year and summer term teaching. PhD preferred but not required. Salary: \$36,000 - \$39,000. Send cover letter, CV, sample syllabi, student evaluations, and three references by December 15, 2000, to Dr. Lilith M. Haynes, 51 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138-3722 USA; fax (617) 495-9176; e-mail haynes@hudce.harvard.edu. No phone calls or walk-ins."



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⁴ Hammer, Michael and Steven Stanton, <u>The Reengineering Revolution: A Handbook</u>. Harper Business, New York ©1995 Hammer and Company, p. 18.

how outputs are created from inputs."⁵ They later add: "To reengineer means, fundamentally, to rebuild the company on the customer's behalf. This requires a deep appreciation of customer needs.... To overhaul the wrong processes or to reinvent the right processes with the wrong objectives is worse than useless."⁶ Their concept appeared circa 1993⁷ and, though ostensibly coincidental to our effort, "reengineering" is precisely what was required for our instituting at Harvard content-based English as a Second Language in a manner worthy of an élite university. Processes long in place for offering the highest academic quality across the curriculum of the world's leading research university could indeed be applied, we felt, to English Programs that each semester enroll nearly 1,000 adults. Time has served to underscore the wisdom of applying these processes in this context, and I therefore invite you tough-skinned residue to imagine with me that the entire field may also be reengineered. ESL is most certainly a sizeable business, so that reengineering how its work is done is a matter of moral urgency. Though these concern me less, byproducts of reengineering ESL are, indeed, the professional parity and acceptability for its practitioners so absent in AAAL.

To come any distance with me on this journey of imagination and action, you will have to swallow some perhaps quite bitter pills. First, I will enjoin you to accept that it is the business of higher education institutions to be thoroughly and uncompromisingly academic. If your area of operation is secondary or primary education, I have a radically simple challenge for you, too: the pursuit of academic excellence must be your unswerving agenda, too. It is possible to achieve such a goal in language education: it is to my high-school French teacher, after all, that I owe the professional conviction that "education is not only instruction; it is atmosphere and the attribution of an outlook and an attitude." ⁸ And, while we are setting out to require language education to be academic, let us also take up the cudgels to ensure that ESL education be identical --in goals as well as procedures — to all other university education.



⁵ Hammer and Stanton. p. 17

⁶ Hammer and Stanton. p. 97

⁷ Hammer and Stanton, p. xi.

This translates, very simply, into treating ESL students no differently from any other students.

1. 3. Reengineering ESL Content-Based Instruction

To begin this voyage into reengineering ESL, let me define what I mean by CBI and what I think CBI should mean. Let us please agree, firstly, that all instruction in a university imparts content. This should not be the articulation of an ideal: a university is an intellectual domain, and every topic that arises there emerges in order to be discussed and analyzed deeply and widely, and its significance and relationship to other topics evaluated. The hard sciences, the liberal and performing arts, and the disciplines that connect them: in a university, all of these engender academic inquiry. The person planning to function successfully as a student within a university must, accordingly, be prepared to engage fully in the breadth and depth of language use that such inquiry will demand.

If applied linguists could get their minds around the notion that all language-instruction must be content-based instruction, the language instruction that takes place in universities would more clearly become academic in content. A concomitant would be that language teachers' classroom performance would be identical with that of personnel in other university departments. Ah, you say, but teaching English is not like teaching math or chemistry. I ask you to tell me how not and why not: what IS different about imparting and acquiring skills and concepts, notions and nuances, and making connections among them in these various subjects? Students are rapidly erasing the boundaries between traditional disciplines, and we who are paid to instruct them would do well to be alive to this fact, and to the ways in which students are effecting this revolution.



⁸ Jarvis, Carmen: Address to Bishops' High School Alumni: London, 1999

Can ESL practitioners be moved to think beyond engineering personal satisfaction – achieving the glow that comes from helping others know one's language -- into paying close attention to the real needs of students -- as distinct from their desires -- and to the range of interactions in which students must engage in order to successfully pursue a university career? Such a basic inquiry would show that it is unhelpful -- if not rather harmful -- to conceive of language instruction as a non-academic enterprise. More pertinently, it may then dawn on language instructors that CBI should not be restricted to traditional departmental compartmentalization, for student success does not ensue from reading professional texts alone, or writing in one's narrowly perceived discipline -- which English for Special Purposes (ESP) epitomizes.

We know, too, that students do not excel when they only have to access the literatures of their specializations, even when they master these literatures. Successful students also interact intellectually with their professors, classmates, and members of the public in a variety of situations and domains, constantly learning from them, testing ideas, and imparting insights in ways that produce personal growth. And, if their university sits, as ours does, in a megalopolis of higher education, the phrase "members of the public" may translate into a large number of academically sophisticated interlocutors, on and off the campus, with scant regard to occupation —factors that, in turn, teach important cultural lessons. When ESP is not the focus or rationale of university ESL, there is yet another serious problem to note: nowhere else in a university are texts and procedures so blatantly afflicted with the monstrous hindrances that ESL language teaching suffers! ESL materials and methods are so taken up with being glitzy, hip, and condescending to supposedly needy foreigners that they demean students as well as the practitioners who use them—within and outside the academy.

If we can agree now that content permeates every linguistic act, we can begin to shed the stultifying preoccupation with equating language instruction with a multimedia palette of strategies, drills, tasks, and gimmicks. This is vital, for the market is



currently being flooded with self-help texts⁹ that aim to direct certified practitioners toward sharing and talking to each other more -- to precisely this end, engaging in informal continuing education that will improve upon the preparation they once received, particularly to help them deal with the assessments and standards that are emerging throughout the land. These texts are seductive, of course, because the training of practitioners is still way out of step with CBI¹⁰. Well-meaning though these new self-help texts are, they nonetheless serve to reinforce the tic that if we can all just come up with strategies that work, we'll get everyone performing amicably and wonderfully. The fact that the official preparation of ESL practitioners still fails to equip then to engage in academic CBI makes these texts, too, of limited effect.

I am now looking for a few nods, to assure myself that you are with me in this unmasking of a business process that needs reengineering—for I do not need this to be a "solo performance." Before we turn to hear the reengineered speak, I want to assure you that, if you are with me, you ARE NOT alone in your discomfort with the prevailing characterization and practice of ESL, even CBI ESL; seriously dismayed, too, are the students! And they are the customers we need to think about. If CBI meant the permeation of all language classes with an academic agenda, the texts used in language classes would mirror best practices in the rest of a university's curricula; certified practitioners would have no use for dependence on idiotic tools; and the preparation of ESL instructors would be reengineered.



⁹ e.g. Brown, H. Douglas. <u>Teaching By Principles: An Interactive Approach to Language Pedagogy</u>. 20001, Pearson Education, New York, New York; Bailey, Kathleen M., Andy Curtis, and David Nunan. <u>Pursuing Professional Development: The Self as Source</u> 2001. Heinle and Heinle – Thomson Learning, Boston, Massachusetts.

¹⁰ To test the idea that CBI is at odds with the curricula of ESL teacher-preparation programs, I checked the programs of the 35 institutions from which our program has drawn instructors in the past seven years. I found one — that's all — which mentioned CBI, not that its document provided any syllabi to guide a true evaluation of its offerings.

¹¹ Salacuse, Jeswald W., <u>The Wise Advisor: What Every Professional Should Know About Consulting and Counseling</u> ©2000 Jeswald W. Salacuse, Praeger Publishers, Westport, Connecticut. p. 16.

2. The reengineered speak

2. 1. The students

Of the many types of evidence of successful reengineering that I could adduce, three are perhaps most pertinent: enrollment data, qualitative comments by students, and reflective comments by instructors. The fluctuation of enrollments in intensive English language programs (IEPs) is so notorious for its dependence on the economic strength of sending countries that coterminality of enrollment data with student satisfaction data culled from evaluations would have to be problematical. However, inasmuch as our institution is in the fortunate position of mounting three programs annually, only one of which falls into the IEP mould, it may be easily surmised that our enrollments over the seven years in which we have emphasized academic CBI show splendid endorsement of this curriculum by students. Indeed, we have now firmly limited our program to an upper total of 63 sections, since enrollments in the current academic year surpassed the numbers shown in Figures I and II, as well as the space we have available to run classes. All of our sections count together as one course, and on the measures deemed vital in our Division, our approximately 1,000 students rated the program at 4.0, and all instructors at 4.5, on a 5.0 point scale last semester.

(Insert Figures I and II here)

To stay briefly with the present continuous, the Dean of our Faculty of Arts and Sciences circulated his annual state of the faculty report last Thursday, and I shall quote his first paragraph, as well as his telling comment on the faculty's curriculum, in order to place these figures in the context of the academy in general, and of this university in particular:

"As I begin this ... report ... knowing that it will be relatively cheerful, I must not immediately launch into a litany of successes and statistics, but think – first – about our goals. The Constitution of Massachusetts was written by John Adams in 1780, and he began Chapter V with 'Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties ... it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and



the sciences, and all seminaries of them: especially at the university at Cambridge...' ... it is important that we keep our purpose in mind." 12

"To quote Lowell again: 'All true education must be in great part self-education, a personal effort to advance on the difficult path of knowledge, not a half-reluctant transportation through college in perambulators pushed by instructors."

Although we have tons of pages of comments from our students produced in evaluations at the mid- and end-points of each program period, we also have a nifty way of hearing from them, namely via entries to an essay competition that awards book prizes every session and, in the Extension School, scholarships endowed by the Dean of our Division. The first essay from which I shall quote really speaks for itself, and also directly to those who might carp that academic CBI is inappropriate for all comers:

"At the beginning I felt fear. I was nervous because I thought it was going to be hard. Now I enjoy being in class with other people that have problems speaking English as I do. I know I can do more and I want very much to do so. ... even my instructor learned English the same way I am learning... That delighted and motivated me to take English class so I can have a chance to better myself.... I have been working in Harvard for eleven years as a custodian and I feel like I'm stuck in the same job. I'm not saying that I don't like to work for Harvard because I do, but because of language barriers I have been unable to get a high skill (sic) job. It is tough when you're working for an institution where you see nothing but people going on to great things and you're washing dishes or sweeping floors. In conclusion, it is necessary to learn English so I can be able to communicate to others. I want a better future for my family and me. ¹⁴

We have five levels of proficiency, and this is from the second lowest; at the same level of proficiency, we hear some specifics about CBI in our shop:

"...the teacher played a role of guide and imperceptible force. Students had the same rights as the teacher in making class activities and we tried to find the solutions from discussions between each other in pairs and group work. This helped us realize that we are responsible for improving our skills and that we had the choice to do our job well or not. Also, A variety of information sources made our work creative and interesting. I discovered that it is very important to read today's formal language in the newspapers, old literary language in the works of American writers like Nathaniel Hawthorne, and 'pick up' some expressions from language which people use in everyday conversations. The possibility to compare these differences increased our sense of language, improved our vocabulary, and helped us communicate in English." ¹⁵

One more example from this level:

"I have never taken English as a course on it's (sic) own but I studied English as a subject during my elementary and high school. I used to hate English because our English teacher was so rough to us. He could punish very heavily whenever you failed a number or asked many questions.... I used to consider English to be the most difficult subject, but I discovered several ways you can learn. For example, reading novels, listening to CDs containing English lessons and



¹² Knowles, Dean Jeremy R. Letter to Colleagues dated 24th January 2001. p.1.

¹³ Knowles. p. 8.

¹⁴ LS - Level B - Honorable Mention

¹⁵ ZA - Level B - Grand Prize Winner

practicing. English also requires self-motivation, capability, and determination to be able to practice on your own ... Another interesting part of learning English at Harvard is technology. ... The Language Resource Center is equipped with different visual aids. In addition to English learning, my class had students from different parts of the world. I learnt about different societies, from culture to politics. Not only did I learn from class, but from outside as well. I tried to observe how people lived in a diverse society."¹⁶

If these are students at the second lowest of five levels, how do the top-level students look, you might well wonder. Before we get to them – and students at the topmost level do drive the program – I shall quote three from the penultimate level, Level D:

"First of all the high level of professionalism of the instructor in our class amazes me... Second, I like that the program is not "test-oriented". What is more important is that the complex program immerses me in intensive studying, building on my previous background.... The most difficult exercise, but at the same time more interesting, is a presentation of controversial topics when you try to be objective, logical, and persuasive, and prove a personal point of view. It is also interesting to listen to taped lectures from summer school. Interesting topics and professional lectures help me to be an active listener and also help me to evaluate and improve my own presentation skills. In addition, detailed feedback of my presentation from our instructor and classmates are helpful.

Moreover, being in Boston I study English everywhere. Sometime I have a funny way of learning new words. For instance, in my Financial Accounting class the professor several times recalled an uncle whose name is Sam. I was wondering why he was talking about "his uncle" until my American classmate explained to me this colloquial expression meaning the government. The next day he brought stamps with the image of "Uncle Sam." Now I know what he looks like." 17

"I have a bachelor's degree in Psychology. I plan to do a doctorate in Psychology here and peruse (sic) a research career. For this reason, I decided to take the IEL course. I must defeat my fears of speaking English.... For the first time in my life, I enjoy studying English! The fact that the IEL courses are student centered and not teacher centered has made difference to me. Having the freedom to decide the curriculum with my classmates has been great. Our classroom dynamic is energized because we are all enthusiastic participants. I am encouraged to strive to keep the class interesting. At the same time, this makes me work harder and learn more.... In addition, the wide-ranging topics for class discussion were exciting. Many of the subjects I had not been exposed to before....

Knowing and speaking English well are essential for my future. It will make the difference. It is not enough to know for myself that my English is good. I must be able to express ideas fluently to native speakers. IEL course has been pivotal to this. I am confident in expressing myself in English. The true test is that my American friends have noticed. That is the highest compliment!¹⁸

"In fact, all my life had been in a small island country where the population was amazingly homogeneous in race, language and culture foe more than thirty years. ... I was just like the frog in a Japanese proverb which says, "The frog in the well knows nothing of the great ocean."... It is quite natural that the naïve frog has a strong desire to explore about the new world even though her skill is still too poor to have a perfect command of the exploration ship. ... According to a superb curriculum, we have been learning not only English itself, but also about a logical way of thinking in English. For example, we have learned about basic method of English discussion such as Socratic method, fundamental elements of proper English presentation both in informative and persuasive speeches, appropriate structures in English writing, and various styles in English literature, and so on. Also, the historical presidential election gave us a favorable chance to study about American political system. Furthermore, a novel project brought me a good opportunity to know and think about slavery in the American history... Finally, the inexperienced frog has started taking an exciting voyage of exploration deep inside the new world. After the



¹⁶ ACA – Level B - Honorable Mention

 $^{^{17}}$ EG - Level D $\,$ - Honorable Mention

¹⁸ TN – Level D – Honorable Mention

wonderful learning experience, she has taken a big step toward news life as a cosmopolitan. Now the frog has a secret dream of being a tiny bridge from the well to the great ocean in the future."19

It is clear that none of these students uses English faultlessly; although it may not be so obvious in their comments, we do guide them to address these mistakes and errors, in addition to achieving the fluency they so amply demonstrate. Indeed, this is largely why the level D students are not at Level E: they still have gaps to fill. In citing the aspects of CBI that these students value, I hope that I have already sketched some basic tenets of our curriculum -- and of our programmatic understanding of CBI. We are, in fact, pursuing a liberal arts curriculum at every level of proficiency. Why? Because it's the right thing to do, and not only given where we sit.

To explain the ends of our reengineering, let me quote from one of the readings that our students had to prepare for a summer school plenary lecture by Anthony Appiah:

"... in working out how to proceed in educating ... for adulthood, the notion (is) that we should prepare ... for a dignified and autonomous maturity The key to a liberal education is the development of an autonomous self.... An autonomous self is a human self, and we are, as Aristotle long ago insisted, creatures of the *polis*, social beings. We are social in many ways and for many reasons. We are social, first, because we are incapable of developing on our own, because we need human nurture, moral and intellectual education, practice with language, if we are to develop into full persons. This is a sociality of mutual dependence. We are social, second, because we humans naturally desire relationship with others: friends, lovers, parents, children, the wider family, colleagues, neighbors. This is sociality as an end. And we are social, third, because many other things we value — literature, and the arts, the whole world of culture, education, money, and in the modern world, food and housing — depend essentially on society for their production. This is instrumental sociality.... As a result, educating ... for autonomy requires preparing them for relationship, not just preparing them to respect, as liberalism requires, the autonomy of others. ²⁰)

Now for some of the means: again I refer to Appiah.

"Let me exemplify ... we establish a rule that no discussion is complete until everyone has spoken. The idea, of course, is that everyone is of equal worth, and is therefore, equally entitled to express their opinions and receive respectful attention. This does not mean that what everyone says is of equal merit; and it is perfectly consistent to ask everyone to play their role in the discussion and, at the same time, recognize that some contributions move the discussion forward better than others.

In the second practice, the teacher makes a habit of asking ... (students) to explain what other (students) have said. This too teaches that a dialogue of equals requires listening as well as speaking.



¹⁹ AS - Level D - Grand Prize winner

²⁰ Appiah, K. Anthony. "Preliminary Thoughts on Liberal Education" pp. 26, 27. © 1999 K. Anthony Appiah.

These practices are ways of communicating equality of respect and the place of discourse and reason in the relations of people who respect one another.... We need to prepare (students) with the truth and the capacity to acquire more of it." ²¹

Translated into the educational context of an IEP, here is our programmatic rationale:

"In all IEL courses, instruction is learner-centered as well as task- and content-based.

All IEL class materials fulfill academic criteria, and all classroom activities reflect the academic context of this university. To this end, IEL provides instructors with materials that not only reflect the language proficiencies at each level but also address educational goals such as:

- the ability to read critically and analytically, so that students can discuss how an author treats different problems, how different authors address the same problem in different media, or how topics may be of ephemeral or enduring importance;
- an awareness of research methods data collection, hypothesis formation and analysis
 their implications, and the ability to interpret and make reasonable conclusions about
 language presented in formats as different as statistical tables, graphs, or formulae;
- the historical awareness that broadens a student's perspective on human endeavor and the institutions and traditions of the world;
- the ability to synthesize sources and contribute arguments that are fluent, cohesive,
 persuasive, and adequately supported;
- knowledge of the roles of languages in culture, in all their variability and changeability,
 and of the particular role of English its many norms of social and syntactic usage, its
 popular and sophisticated vocabulary, and its requirements for oral and written
 comprehensibility."

Can such a rationale travel to your shop? Why not? This agenda reflects very closely the guidelines that our Secondary School Summer School program advises prospective Harvard undergraduates to follow, and which young people the world over try to prepare themselves maneuver. The host of liberal arts institutions which ensure the



²¹. Appiah. p. 28.

rounded preparation of public policy and business cadres also adumbrate such criteria -and expect their students to be able to accept and follow their demands. Those of you
who - like many of these institutions -- may consider the *trivium* and *quadrivium* the
components of the ideal liberal arts curriculum, I refer to a recent exchange at the
American Academy for Liberal Education on constructing liberal education curricula.²²
Most pertinently however, the ESL students you have heard from above -- representing
all the continents except Australia -- reflect a very broad range of academic and
socioeconomic backgrounds -- which suggests a global appreciation of our model.

2. 2. The instructors

This academic year I have been taking an intensive Arabic class; although it has been difficult to devote enough time to being as good a student as I expect IEL students to be, I'm in there daily with the Harvard and MIT undergraduates and graduates, functioning like a regular student. Toward the end of the first semester, then, I was quite touched when my instructor sent me an email requesting me to offer him feedback on his teaching. I was touched because no IEL instructor has ever done that! Granted, every one of their sections is observed every single semester, but I was also touched by this request because only 8 had returned completed copies of the almost 60 questionnaires that I had sent out to current and recent IEL instructors -- freely proffered comments in post-observation meetings on how their teaching has improved in our program notwithstanding! The openness to constructive critique that my Arabic instructor's request embodied was noted in an IEL instructor's response as a deficiency among ESL practitioners. As we say where I come from, I'm selling that observation like I bought it without embellishment. While I could add a number of more or less charitable explanations for the low response rate, I prefer to note that responding was a voluntary effort, and opt to let the instructors who replied, like the students you have heard above, speak for themselves.



²² Kalkavage, Peter. "Advantages of an Integrated Liberal Arts Curriculum." and Thurow, Glenn E. "Liberal Education and the Disciplines." AALE Occasional Paper #1 - Two Approaches to Constructing Liberal Education: An AALE Scholars Debate. http://www.aale.org/debate/htm

Since there were few responses, I can share many of them with you in their entirety.

The answers to the first question "What do you understand by the term *content-based-instruction*?" were -- for the most part -- gratifyingly in keeping with our program ideals:

 that lessons are based on ideas, themes and language which are part of a text, lecture, or some other medium—the content of the activity providing the basis for instruction;

using the content of a specific subject area to teach language and culture;

 that there is embedded in the activity, discussion, or project some grammatical concept, American practice or ideal or factoid of some sort. It is NOT activity or talk for the sake of filling hours;

the use of authentic materials from different fields as a basis for studying English, rather than using materials created solely for the purpose of language learning;

 a methodology in which grammatical/linguistic comprehension is derived from 'real life' or 'real time' usages -- i.e. lessons are processed from content not from strict constructionist interpretations;

content material is the main focus of instruction. Language learning happens while students study another academic subject e.g. geography;

• involves three basic elements: authentic material, responsible learners, and a low-profile facilitator/instructor. Because the material is authentic (i.e. taken directly from first-hand 'real-world' sources, such as academic lectures, scientific journals, public information communiqués, user manuals, newspaper articles, television news footage, investigative programs etc.) and has not been paraphrased or processed, students must learn how to learn from these sources. Learners engage themselves with the material by learning to ask effective and meaningful questions of one another about that material. The role of the facilitator here is to foster an environment conducive to such interaction by sitting on the sidelines, watching learners play the game (using appropriate language skills), intervening only to summarize strengths and weaknesses before moving to different learning strategies or activities (which depend on the strengths and weaknesses ascertained earlier).

I am going to skip the responses to the next two questions: "Please describe the curriculum of the ESL teacher-preparation program that you completed" and "How did this teacher-preparation program equip you to do content-based-instruction?" because they were almost universally interpreted to be the orientation sessions we offer our instructors before each semester, rather than the programs of varying length that supposedly certified them to be ESL practitioners! If that strikes you as weird -- for the questions are straightforward -- please consider that such responses underscore the accuracy of the proposition in this paper that the professional preparation of ESL practitioners has little to do with CBI! As later responses to the questionnaire indicate, many of the instructors felt that their IEL orientations constituted, in effect, their ESL teacher preparation!

The responses to the next two questions "Please characterize the texts that you use in teaching ESL in the IEL and other programs" and "How do these texts fit your idea of content-based-instruction?" echo the first two. In addition, they respectively cite some of



the texts that we use and offer some observations that should put at ease those of you who might have formed the opinion that we never teach language structure.

 at beginning and low-intermediate levels these are hybrid texts; they're not fully content-based because students need language and grammar at this level before they can tackle content;

certain texts, such as Tipping Point, are accessible and lend themselves readily to varieties of
investigation. Others, like Cod, are perhaps too factual (as opposed to conceptual) for flexible
interpretation.

Now we come to the crux of my argument, the responses to the question: "Has teaching in IEL changed the way you previously conducted your classes? If so, how did you accomplish the change(s)?" The responses, some of which suggest practices that border on the draconian, bear quotation -- for although they are unanimously in the affirmative, they point up the fact that reengineering the ESL practitioner is still a work in progress. There is still much too much focus on techniques:

- yes, to the extent that tasks are integrated into programs. My accomplishing the changes has
 involved developing a broader repertoire of activities and approaches to using texts and
 content;
- yes, I feel that the observations and conferences are useful. IEL fosters a serious, academic
 approach. I believe I have made my techniques more precise;
- the IEL philosophy of learner-centered instruction made my planning and execution of lessons much more dependent upon feedback and participation. I changed my approach to each class meeting to examine the students rather than the lesson plan;
- teaching at IEL has helped me to turn over more of the responsibility for running the classroom to the students. My comfort level has increased with this as I have seen the students rise to the occasion time after time. This has not necessarily carried over to other teaching situations in which the students are at a lower level or are less motivated;
- yes. I have shifted focus almost entirely to learner-training, learner-centered classroom style.
 The change is accomplished through accurate and thorough communication and instillment (sic) of self-confidence in students (as well as self-discipline).
- It helped me managed (sic) better the amount of work I wanted to fit in my class shedules (sic);
- I don't think teaching in IEL has radically changed the way I conduct classes. ... However, what has changed is the level/nature of student-student interaction, which, I think can mainly be attributed to two things: a responsibility objective on the syllabus, and a ban on dictionaries. I now always add to the syllabus the objective that the learner should be able to take responsibility for his/her own learning and move away from dependence on the instructor. I feel that my physical move to the back of the room reinforces this. Learners no longer look to me for the answers but rather to the presenter. If the presenter does not know the answer to a classmate's question, the presenter learns how to re-direct that question to another classmate. Learners take responsibility not only for the material but also for generating and moderating the discussion which presumes that students can listen effectively to one another. If the presenter falters and looks to me for help, I do not offer it but just shrug my shoulders until the uncomfortable silence is broken by another student. As a result, polarized classes have grown together to respect one another for their diversity of opinion, ability, etc.

Å second reason for increased student-student interaction is the ban on dictionaries. While all bilingual dictionaries and electronic equipment are banned at the start of the term, this ban is tightened considerably when even English-English dictionaries are confiscated by the beginning of Week 3 (of a 12 week program) [NOT IEL!]. Since learners tend to lean on their dictionaries as they would on crutches, they feel lost and helpless at first but soon realize the value of learning vocabulary from context and questions they ask of their classmates;

it influenced and reinforced ideas I had previously held.



3. The reengineering process

The foregoing student data refer to Extension School semesters, when we offer — around the clock — classes that meet for four hours per week, or "intensive" morning classes that run eight hours per week, to people who live in the greater Boston area. The vast majority of our classes are called 'integrated skills', and we also offer advanced students opportunities to take specialized courses in academic discussion or academic writing, transforming these activities into workshops at the highest level of proficiency.

In the summer, however, in addition to offering these courses in a part-time evening program for the same constituency, we become a real IEP. Currently we offer four intensive summer programs -- Integrated Skills, Communication in Business, English for Design, and English for the MBA -- each involving 20 hours of instruction per week over an eight week period, in addition to two four week programs -- one for 16 to 18 year olds, and the other for international graduate students entering Harvard in the ensuing Fall term. Figure II has shown that we deal in large numbers, even when sudden economic downturns have threatened to decimate the IEP enterprise. To man so many operations, we have to significantly augment our core instructional staff, and although many instructors return for a few summers, we are constantly having to achieve results that mirror the above statements in a very short orientation period. Now you understand why so many of the respondents interpreted their CBI-IEL training as their ESL training!

To help illustrate what we do to these instructors, here are some responses to the request: "Please describe the IEL curriculum":

- a four-hour day; the 2 parts of the day consisting of instruction and workshopping, the aim being to
 incorporate lecture material into instruction and develop students' skills in an academic setting;
- it specifically states objectives and outcomes. It is fully integrated from Levels A-E. I feel it gives a very strong academic approach at all levels;
- it is a 5-step process that enables a beginning level students (sic) to progress to such a level of proficiency with the language that they are able to enroll in any university level course and succeed.
- the IEL curriculum is academically focused, content-based, task-oriented and student centered;
- it comprises 'content-based-instruction';

There are a few hints here to what we do in summer: lectures, lecture material, and workshops. Although it sits in the Division of Continuing Education, Harvard Summer



School is Harvard University in summer. It is therefore crucial that the IEP look as much as possible like the rest of Harvard. Reengineering the summer IEP business process meant not only re-educating instructors in the ways they have mentioned, or even abolishing the summer-camp entertainments dubbed 'electives' and 'homeroom activities' that once passed for an IEP. In terms of the curriculum, it meant instituting a uniform academic program for all IEL students; designating texts to be used by all classes of the same type at the same level; phasing out TOEFL preparation and pronunciation classes; hiring speakers of non-American varieties of English as instructors to offer students real models of the international language that English undeniably is; sending students out every fortnight to do tasks at important cultural venues such as museums and state institutions; and -- most importantly-- co-opting Harvard professors to lecture to ESL students on subjects reflecting their own research, providing preparatory reading materials of the same caliber as those used for their undergraduate students, with no concession to the proficiency limitations of our students, and expecting IEL students to engage them in spirited question and answer sessions following the lectures.

Had we merely made these changes for traditional ESL classes of one instructor and 15 students, we would have reengineered much. But we went much, much farther. We required instructors to not only teach their personal class of 15 students in the integrated skills module of the program, but also to work in pairs with their combined 30 students in workshops on three afternoons to prepare and debrief the lectures; to join all the other students at the respective proficiency levels every fortnight for a faculty lecture; and to join all of the other students each Friday for another plenary lecture by a senior faculty member. The intent is as simple as it is manifold — to expose students to all of the possible classroom situations encountered in a university, from individual conferencing to public audiences, as well as to a wide variety of academic enterprises in the broadly thematic areas of education, politics, and ecology. How has it played? Let us listen once more to instructors for a part of the answer.



To the questions "If you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate your team-teaching experience"; "if you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate the conduct and results of the workshop modules"; and "if you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate the level-wide interactions of instructors" here are some responses:

a) to team-teaching:

- has been challenging. I personally have learnt a lot from my 'partners'. You can broaden your own styles. It requires mutual respect and communication;
- on the whole, less than positive. It's great to have help in the planning phase of the term but too often
 it's a mismatch of personalities. It seems to me not all teachers find Level A students rewarding to work
 with:
- my sole team-teaching experience was in a Level D ComBiz course and worked well. It always surprises me how little self-confidence many instructors possess;
- in my case it has been productive. The other teacher and I shared similar views on language learning;
- generally good and generally bad. My experience in 1999 was generally good. Despite some latent power struggles between my partner and me, the relationship could easily be characterized as professional, productive and positive.... we had also developed a discrete code system, with which we were able to pull each other in if either one of us allowed too much time for a specific task, for instance. We were able to launch a discussion on an issue from opposing angles in such a way that students easily picked up the core of the controversy and generated as debate amongst themselves....

 Unfortunately this was not the case the following summer. While my partner and I were initially quite happy with the relationship, it soon became apparent to me that a sense of desperate competition overshadowed any attempts at building a consensual partnership... I believe we were simply targeted toward two different levels or two different kinds of learners. Clearly, she appealed to the affective side of lower-level learners and I did not.... I restrained myself ... because I tried to keep in mind that the class was about the students and not about the instructors.

b) to the conduct and results of the workshops:

- highly successful. Students have found this part of the program challenging and a good way to improve fluency and communication skills. Has required careful planning of tasks;
- the workshops are valuable elements of the summer program, though complaints are occasionally heard from so-called 'advanced' students about the lack of specific relevance the workshops have to their pursuits;
- they have been interactive and conducive to discussion. I felt I could use more guidance during some of them;
- students were exposed to a carefully planned range of authentic academic experiences that were connected in a sophisticated yet open-ended manner, offering students many opportunities to make their own connections in thought and language;
- the conduct of the lectures is very effective although I think more variety in speakers should be a goal, e.g. women, people of color. But they are very unsuccessful with the Level As. It is almost impossible to find any positive results.

c) to the level-wide interactions of instructors:

- excellent! It's almost the high point of the program. The weekly meetings, the joint participation in activities and lectures contribute (sic0 to a real feeling of collegiality;
- I have found the most positive part of the course to be the exchange of I class between teachers;
- cordial but infrequent. Frankly, male instructors tend to communicate more confidently and openmindedly. Female staff at the IEL and other institutions often behave defensively and proprietarily;
- cooperative;



professional, cooperative, and supportive. Another defining characteristic of most instructors would be honesty. I felt most instructors were both professional and humble in that they were able to admit when something went wrong or was simply unplanned. I think this is essential to the overall workings of a program. Strengths are usually immediately apparent to all, but only in honest admission of a weakness can a problem area be addressed and improved. Instructors were also very open in their exchange of ideas, information and material, freely offering personal accounts and insights for the sake of a better program. I think GD best crystallized my impressions when she said "we all stand behind this program" in out last level-wide meeting.

In these many statements, you detect, I am sure, the prevailing neediness of ESL instructors for warmth and group cohesion. These needs are not, in and of themselves, harmful to a program attempting to offer a uniform product. However, their importance to ESL instructors is somewhat out of step with the self-confidence and autonomy that these instructors are charged with instilling in their students, quite apart from certainly not being useful for equipping the instructors themselves to function like other university faculty -- people who do independent research and hold positions -- in the ideational sense -- based upon this work.

If I stopped here, you would be correct to object to my claim that we have effected reengineering in this program -- for all that I have outlined thus far is, really, only a curricular change, radical, extreme, and unprecedented though it is. The business process that is ESL involves many other facets, including recruitment of students, registration and placement procedures, student advising, rewards for work not only accomplished but well or superbly done. As to recruitment, we do enjoy -still -- a comparative advantage from the Harvard brand name, so that I will not get unduly exercised here about the procedures -- demeaning to academic enterprise and decidedly not cost effective -- that are so rampant in the world of junkets i.e. exhibitions, fairs, and agency arrangements. As I mentioned above, we turn away students although we do not enter into any recruitment arrangements or travel around to promote our program. Our Division's Promotions office produces our advertisements and brochures in keeping with the design standards of the division, identifying our work clearly within the academic rubrics of a collegial effort at continuing education. I am not humble enough, though, to ascribe all of our attractiveness to our brand name, for our IEP has numerous competitors, many of



them in our immediate vicinity, some unabashedly trading off the zip code and others mounting approximations of our work. But re-engineering involves, I repeat, "rebuilding on the customer's behalf." ²³ What else did we rebuild?

Although we have always had to outsource aspects of what became the Harvard University English Language Placement Test (HUELPT), upgrading the enterprise of assessing and placing students was the cornerstone that we laid: throwing out, away, old and easy tests that could be bought on the open market and that had been used, moreover, time and again to place students. We did internal needs and syntactic analyses that provided the parameters for a test "tougher than the TOEFL" because we established that, in order to tease out the outstanding sociolinguistic needs of our most proficient customers, we would have to tweak tenets of this standard assessment tool in many ways.

Reengineering student advising was not accomplished in one fell swoop, but the appropriate process emerged as students redefined their advisement needs as academic rather than psychological — in requests for linguistic guidance rather than protracted attempts to negotiate rules and regulations, almost immediately after we instituted full-time preceptorships which provided office space — limited though it had to be — and the accompanying benefits that transformed the core of our instructional body. Once we had a group of instructors who were working at one institution, not zipping around greater Boston to juggle myriad curricular demands, often offering the same lesson plan at all locations, the students showed us in great numbers that they appreciated the chance to turn the IEL portion of our building into an academic resource, a locus for discussion about their work with their instructors.

We do not offer credit for any of our courses, and the essays from which I have quoted suggest some of the rewards that the students seek and receive -- book prizes



²³ Hammer and Stanton p. 97

and scholarships. But everyone who satisfactorily completes an IEL course each semester receives a handsome Certificate of Participation. And, ever mindful of our brand name, and the fact that a student coming to Harvard expects a lot from the experience of registering for a course, we make earning the certificates also involve a lot. This *quid pro quo* does not reside in the curriculum only, either: we have a zero absence policy, and students have to not only be present in class, but do all of the class assignments and participate actively in class, as well, throughout the semester. We offer them the space to excel, too, for knowing that our students are adults making mistakes, we do not allow external visitors to sit in their classes or otherwise observe them -- no matter how enticing the requests to do research on them may be.

Although there are more facets of this process to furbish — to which I hope still to come today — I must note a recent milestone in the reengineering of this business process, the seamless folding of the registration of IEL students into the registration procedures employed for all students in the Division. At last, we have not only truly limited enrollment for our courses, but we also have managed to treat IEL students exactly like all other Continuing Education students, by the engineering their observance of the same deadlines and guidelines, and allowing them to experience identical efforts to cater to all prospective students by the division's registration personnel. With this procedural step that in no mean regard depended on the automation that online services now permit, IEL instructors benefited the most — in that they came to enjoy the enviable bonus to of knowing early and surely what classes they would teach in the ensuing semester.

4. Reengineering the ESL Practitioner for Content-Based Instruction

Given what I have said so far, you will understand why the vast majority of new instructors experience shock when they work in IEL, why seasoned instructors don't always receive glowing student or program-director evaluations, and why those of us who persevere feel that no one who teaches in IEL and goes on to other programs around



the world does not take some measure of our daring with them. There is no "Harvard method" -- although frequent requests to market it and reports that our former teachers' conduct is often thus interpreted would suggest that such a thing exists.

But the responses to two remaining items on our questionnaire suggest what reengineering the ESL practitioner will entail, for as I said above, this is a work in progress. First, the answers to "What is the most difficult aspect of teaching in an academic program such as IEL's?"

teaching grammar;

 pulling together the various parts of the program and, although very rewarding, coordinating with team teacher;

• I believe that at times it's difficult to meet all the various 'constituencies' in the c lass. Many students are academically prepared and others are not 'academic'. But it's a challenge and what makes teaching interesting;

carting our entire stack of books all day. No place to use for lesson planning;

 the most difficult aspect of teaching at the IEL is finding the time to cover a significant amount of the materials provided and to accomplish the goals of the course. There is never enough time;

• reconciling the high academic aspirations of individual students with course goals that are necessarily targeted to the mean;

the pressure of time, by far—time never seems enough to cover all the material;

knowing how much content should be used to foster an environment which promotes the development of critical thought and language skills. Knowing how to gauge the bias of selected material is difficult because, as an instructor with a specific set of values shaped by a specific set of experiences in a specific context, I am often unaware of how unaware I am of students' differing perceptions and perspectives of the given material... knowing how much content to use to facilitate the development of skills is also difficult, especially since learners themselves often notice their acquisition of knowledge before they notice their development/improvement in skills. Perhaps this is partly due to the fact that content-based knowledge may be more easily observed or tested in a more concrete manner than language skills. I think one of the greatest temptations of instructors who love to think, make connections and articulate ideas themselves is to allow learners to spend too much time on content without reference to skills (e. g. learning how to formulate effective questions, etc.)

Lest you think that I am fazed by any of these comments, I assure you that I am happy with many of them: why, for example, should an instructor ever expect to use all of the materials assigned when students are being led to be independent seekers of facts? In response to the final item on the questionnaire, "What is the most fulfilling aspect of teaching in such a program?" let us hear once more from the instructors:

• one of the most fulfilling aspects of teaching in an academic IEL is the fact that I learn as much as I "teach"/facilitate. By getting to know where learners are coming from culturally, I also learn about different perceptions and perspectives, and different ways of coming to terms with the world. This often results in unexpected ways of creative problem-solving, with the lines between learner and facilitator blurred to the point where everyone ultimately works together as a team on any given issue from differing angles. Another noteworthy reward of teaching in an academic IEL is seeing learners interact with their environment to ask appropriate, critical questions of native English speakers and then using those questions to question their own preconceptions of a particular issue. Seeing learners change their minds "out loud" definitely places a close second to the above;



getting to know the students well;

engaging in and watching students engage in sophisticated dialogue using the target language;

the most fulfilling aspect of teaching at the IEL is seeing real improvement in the students' language abilities from the beginning of the semester to the end. I also enjoy watching the students' reluctance to do certain things (presentations, research papers) melt away as they experience success; when there is a class-wide "Ahhh!" or "Ohhh!" and t hey finally understand the point of the exercise.

- The students themselves, their dedication and commitment to learning their assignment and lessons; the enthusiasm, dedication, and spirit of the students at Harvard IEL. They're here to learn- Also I enjoy the colleagues whom I've met at IEL. I feel that it's a privilege to work with such gifted and dedicated
- he u se of stimulating material and t he times when 2 teachers balance each other, coming up with a variety of tasks, ideas, and techniques;

advising students.

While these are mostly positive, and many on target with the goals I have outlined, there is not enough coherence among them -- or absence of beliefs not in consonance with our goals -- to let me conclude that the practitioners have achieved the level and type of preparation that is necessary to meet the continuing challenge to exhibit faculty-like behavior. To this end, we have designed a certificate program for graduate students in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard who have already passed their general exams, that is, who are proceeding to write their dissertations. This is, naturally, an exclusive program, and I currently have one student who is guinea-pigging the demands of the Linguistics department and the CITESOL²⁴. It is a 15-month program consisting of courses in the History of the English Language; Introduction to Linguistics; ESOL Teaching Methods, a practicum involving an independent research paper, followed by team-teaching in the intensive summer school session. My pilot student, an accomplished linguist, has concluded that it is impossible to complete the teaching methods course in a semester -- and has begun to lobby for a longer program! I assure you that she, a highly proficient non-native speaker and university tutor -- got treatment similar to our E Level students as she pursued the ESOL Methods course last semester, and learnt to welcome the opportunity to delve into controversies and their fundamentals in a manner that, she claims, has already altered her teaching. That this should happen to a linguist doing an ESL Methods course underscores the need for an end to a the 'warm body'



²⁴ The Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

syndrome, where too many are hired to teach ESL largely because they speak English, having rapidly practiced a variety of strategies.

What I have been advocating is radically reformulating what the business processes of ESL mean. And, rather than setting out a set of research items that define the field for prospective and current practitioners presumably too ill-equipped to undertake independent thought, or engaging in desperate business practices to attract staff and students with no intellectual orientation, I call on applied linguistics to set about reengineering every feature of the delivery of ESL instruction in the true spirit of the academy.



Date: 16 November 2000

To: Recent and Present IEL Instructors

From: Lilith M. Haynes

Re: Enclosed Questionnaire

Please be so good as to share your thoughts on the accompanying questionnaire and send me the completed form in the return-address envelope as soon as possible.

Though entirely voluntary and anonymous, your participation is most welcome.

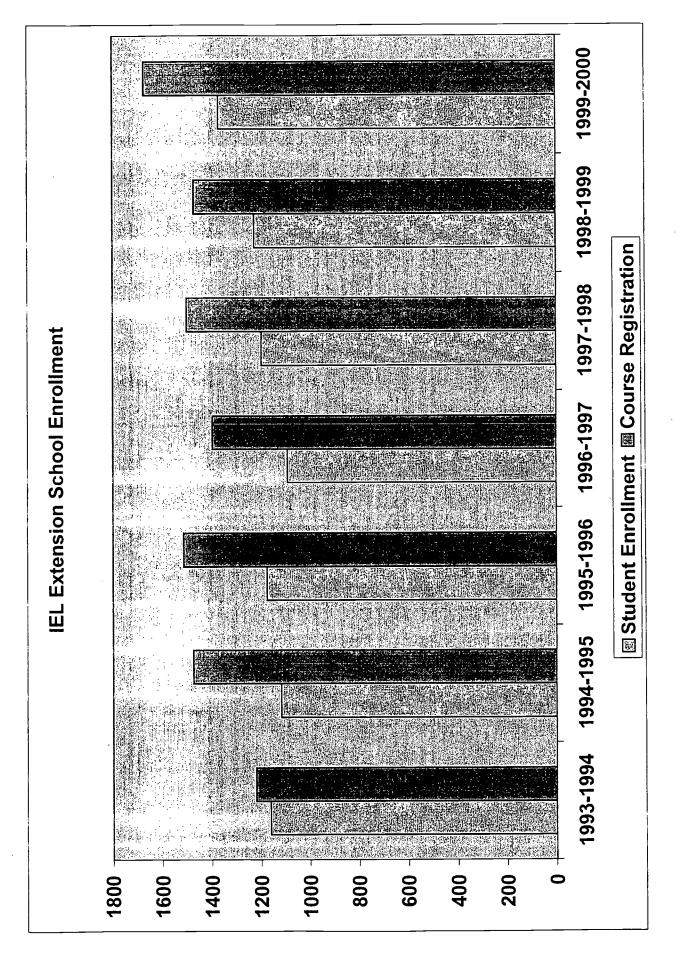
Your responses will assist our programs by contributing to ongoing self-studies, plans for instructor workshops and orientations, the training of current and future CITESOL students, and testing the tenets of a paper that I shall present at AAAL in February.

IEL Instructional Questionnaire

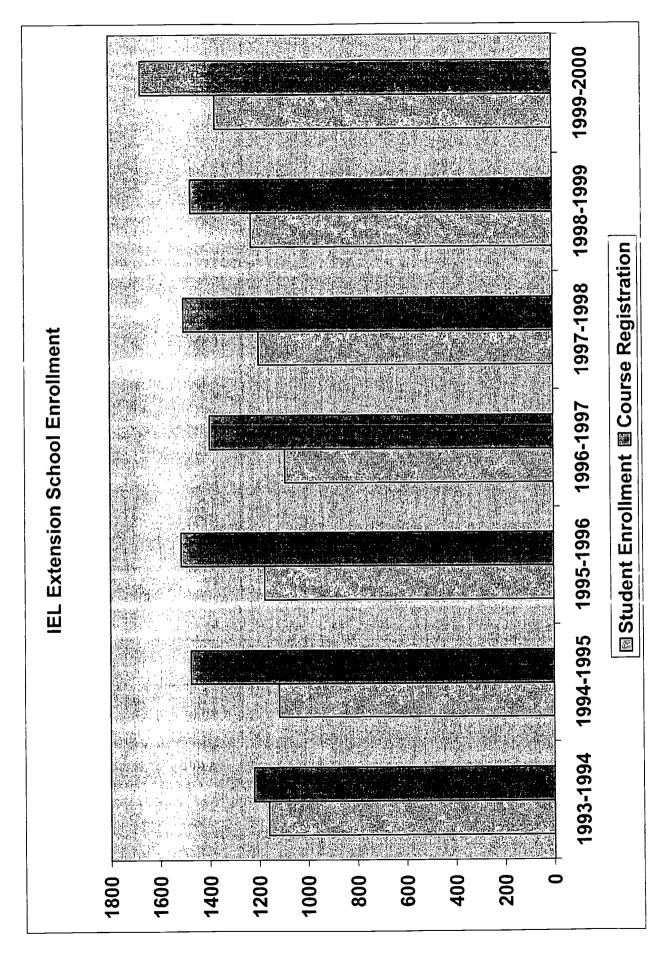
Please take a few minutes to complete the following questionnaire; if you need more space, please use the reverse of the form. You may return the questionnaire anonymously in the enclosed return-address envelope. Please return it by November 30. Many thanks!

- What do you understand by the term "content-based-instruction"?
- Please describe the curriculum of the ESL teacher-preparation program that you completed.
- How did this teacher-preparation program equip you to do content-based-instruction?
- Please characterize the texts that you use in teaching ESL in the IEL and other programs.
- How do these texts fit your idea of content-based-instruction?
- Has teaching in IEL changed the way you previously conducted your classes? If so, how did you accomplish the change(s)?
- Please describe the IEL curriculum.
- If you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate your team-teaching experience.
- If you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate the conduct and results of the workshop modules.
- If you have taught in an IEL Intensive Summer Program, please describe and evaluate the level-wide interactions of instructors.
- What is the most difficult aspect of teaching in an academic program such as IEL's?
- What is the most fulfilling aspect of teaching in such a program?











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